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771 insurgents, the Hapaw people (Ifugaw) hid their priest in the forest
177 for a considerable time; and I am sure that our Negritos and Isneg
797 would do the same to us if necessary. They are supposed to be inferior to the Christians in many respects, they themselves believe so, and the Christians do not fail to impress it upon their mind through word and deed: an Iloko or Kagayan has not respect for an Isneg, and again Iloko, Kagayan and Isneg oppress the Negrito whenever they can.

Now comes along a man who sympathizes with these pariahs, a man who understands them, a man who, although teaching a different religion, never ridicules them, a man who always puts them on the same level with other human beings, a man who is willing to live with them, to share their food and their mat, a man who learns their language and their customs, a man who takes their side even against the Christians when the latter are wrong: what can they feel but respect and even love for such an extraordinary being? Then add to this, in the case of the Isneg, their frequent intercourse with Christians and the patent superiority of the latter's civilization, which excites the ambition of the former, and it will not be wondered at that the priest and his religion are respected, that Isneg mothers bring their children for baptism just as the Christians do, that the Isneg youth wants to be instructed in Christian doctrine, and that Christianity is considered as the ultimate goal of a great number of Isneg young men and women.

183 Here among the Isneg I have never yet met with that strong
788 opposition to baptism, which formerly was so very common among
171 pagan Kankanay fathers and mothers in several of their villages,
177 and if the inborn indolence of the Isneg could be done away with, all
797 youngsters would be Christians within a very short time. In the
771 case of old men and women, although they rarely object to Christian-
178 ity as such, still they usually hold rather tenaciously to their tradi-
184 tional practices, which, however, does not prevent them at the same time from giving complete freedom to their offspring.

585 Last year at Namaltugan, two Christian Isneg intended to get
583 married; when the groom firmly refused to have anything to do with
177 native pagan customs, the relatives on both sides agreed to everything,
178 except on the question of the payment that had to be given to the parents of the bride: on this they strongly insisted; it had nothing to do with religion, and so it had to be observed.
183

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Namaltugan); but this is certainly not an Isneg custom, and it would not even be true to say that polyandry is sporadic among the natives, as the above example is probably unique in Apayaw.

No Isneg is precluded from contracting marriage or regarded as incapable of the same, and so also there are no marriages that could be said to be enjoined by law or by custom to certain classes of people. The only marriage impediments that exist among the Isneg, besides lineal consanguinity, are collateral consanguinity in the first and in the second degree, and so marriage is forbidden between brothers and sisters, and between first cousins. Marriages between second cousins, although not prohibited, are comparatively rare; they seem to be shunned by the Isneg.

2. Courtship

And now we come to the description of how Isneg boys and girls enter the state of matrimony.

Whereas among the Kankanay and other tribes of the Mountain Province, the groom goes to work for a certain period of time in the house of the bride's parents, in Apayaw the Isneg boy merely buys his wife from her parents.

But first of all, who makes the choice? Are the children free and left to their own devices, or do the parents arrange the whole affair among themselves? Have the children anything to say in the matter, or have they merely to agree to their parents' wishes?

Infant marriages exist in Apayaw, but they are the exception. In such cases the parents arrange everything and perform all customary ceremonies that precede the actual marriage, while the bride and groom are still too young to know anything about the matter, and perhaps before they have ever seen each other. These marriages are never consummated and the final marriage ceremony never takes place before the regular age, which means usually not before the age of sixteen years for the boy and fourteen for the girl. But such marriages are as easily broken off as they are contracted; indeed, either of the two parties or both may have conscientious objections, because they have somebody else in sight or for some other reason, in which case the transactions never go any further. Whatever has been paid to the parents of the bride is returned to the original owners, and everything goes on as if nothing had happened. I know of one such case of infant marriage, or rather of agreement between the parents while bride and groom were still in their infancy: it was related to

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fere in the least: consequently she does not *maxanito* or impersonate the spirits of the dead, and remains completely in the background, if indeed she happens to be present. And the same is true with reference to the *ákit* or marriage ceremony: here also there is a feast and a killing of animals, but no *maxanito*. The Isneg probably believe that spirits and ghosts have nothing to do with something that is exclusively the business of living human beings, as an *amómân* or betrothal and an *ákit* or marriage undoubtedly are.

Nevertheless it may happen that the *amómân* takes place at the time a *sây-ám* sacrifice is in progress at the house of the girl, and then of course the *maxanito* will be performed, as usual, as no ceremonies connected with the customary *sây-ám* are ever omitted; but this *maxanito* will generally be performed before the arrival of the *patúgân*, and in any case it has nothing to do with the *amómân*. The only reason why an *amómân* slightly interferes with the ceremonies of the *sây-ám* is the fact that on such coincidences the female spirit *Sisina* has to be especially remembered. Two coconut shells, one partly filled with *bási* (a beverage obtained from sugar cane) and another one partially filled with dog's blood, have to be put down in her honor somewhere along the path that leads to the spot where the women draw water for drinking purposes. This is done in order to induce *Sisina* to look after the young couple and to see to it that both are of one mind and avoid all disputes and altercations.

The *amómân*, at least if it has resulted to the satisfaction of everybody, does not interfere in the least with the usual nocturnal visits of the groom to the house of the bride. He continues to *maxal-allây* as before, that is, to sleep with her, and even to have coitus if they so desire. Actually in several districts they even translate the term *maxamómân* by that of *maxatáwa*, "to marry"; and in this case, of course, the subsequent ceremony of the *ákit*, after which the two young people are allowed to live together, must in their minds have lost most of its significance.

B. WEDDING RITES AND CUSTOMS

A certain period of time always elapses between the *amómân* and the real marriage or *ákit*, but it is impossible to determine exactly its length. In some cases a month is sufficient for all interested parties to prepare themselves properly for this most important ceremony; in others, even a whole year may pass by before the marriage finally takes place.

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585 263 On the day fixed for the *ákit*, the relatives of the girl come together at the latter's house, where a large amount of native sweets has been prepared for the purpose. These sweets are of different kinds:

The *sinandilá: dékat* rice pounded into powder and cooked with coconut oil, coconut milk and salt or sugar, in a shape like that of our ordinary pancakes;

The *binaladdibád* or *inínapát*, as explained previously;

The *linazókog: dékat* rice pounded into powder, salted and cooked in lard, with neither sugar nor coconut products added to it; these cakes have more or less the form of our doughnuts, except that they are very flat; their diameter is usually from two to three inches, and there is a round hole in the center;

The *pinatará-: dékat* rice pounded into powder and cooked, after which it is cut into strips; in the meanwhile coconut milk is cooked in some other receptacle, and when the latter is boiling, first salt and then the *dékat* strips are added to it. The *pinatará-* take all kinds of shapes, but in general they are long and narrow, and look more or less like sections of a candle.

585 583 When everything is ready, the women take charge of the baskets (*la-bá*) full of cakes, and one or more men carry a pig, which is called the *bálat* (revenge, taking turns, etc.) on this occasion. All these are so-called presents that will be distributed to the relatives of the groom by those of the bride. Then the whole procession, in which the *maňlakkát* plays the most conspicuous rôle, proceeds on its way to the boy's house; this may be done in the daytime as well as in the evening: no special time is set for the ceremony. It should be noted once for all that, if the groom is a married man and has a house of his own, all ceremonies connected with the *ákit* and the ensuing *lablabág* are conducted at his own house, and not at that of his parents.

585 292 And now as to the *maňlakkát*. This is always a young girl as yet unmarried, and she is not allowed to wear any other body garment but the tapis or *akén*, and probably the *talút* or G-string, which after all remains invisible. A *sarikaw* hat, like the one worn by a woman after her delivery when she goes to take her first bath, completes her attire. Out of modesty, however, the *maňlakkát* does not wear her tapis in the customary way, that is, from the waist down, but she passes it over her breasts, so that the latter are covered, with the obvious result that her thighs are partially uncovered, as the lower end of the tapis barely reaches half-way down between the buttocks

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and the knees. Consequently the *maŋlakkát* wears neither *badiyó* (jacket) nor *baxákat* (girdle), and the *laddóŋ* or headband has been replaced by the *sarikaw*, so that her hair hangs loose down her back. All this is done, according to the Isneg, lest the bride experience difficulty in giving birth to her children; the loose attire of the *maŋlakkát* is supposed to have a magical influence on the deliveries of the future mother, so that they be accomplished with the utmost ease.

In some places the *maŋlakkát* carries the bride on her back, not on her hip, all the way from the latter's house to that of the groom. Nevertheless if the distance is too great, she only carries the girl down the ladder of the house, and then puts her down, not to take her up again until they arrive at the boy's house, where she carries her up the ladder. When mounting the ladder, the *maŋlakkát* has to skip one of the rungs, all the while carrying her burden. In most places she contents herself with carrying the bride up the ladder of the groom's house, skipping one of the rungs as usual. According to the Isneg, the reason of this action is the same as that given for the looseness of the *maŋlakkát*'s apparel. In Kankanay folklore one occasionally hears a husband invite his wife, who experiences difficulty in giving birth to her child, to climb his back. In other places, however, at least at present, the *maŋlakkát* merely escorts the bride, without carrying her even for a single moment; but her attire always remains the same scanty outfit just referred to, and she never carries any of the baskets filled with sweets.

This custom of carrying the bride all the way through is very generally observed at Bayag (G branch of *Ó* dialect), while at Baliwanan and Dangla (Main branch of *Ó* dialect), and at Musimut (K branch of *Ó* dialect), she is merely carried up the ladder of the boy's house. The latter eventuality is remembered by the Isneg to have happened once at Alumani (near Kabugaw; Main branch). This does not obtain, at least in every case, at Kumaw and Bolo (Main branch), at Abbil and Dibagat (G branch), and at Talifugu (*Bô* dialect).

As soon as the procession arrives at the house of the groom, where in the meanwhile the latter's relatives and many other people invited as guests have been gathering, a few important ceremonies take place. If some members of the girl's party are living near the house of the boy, and in this case only, they *magtaluŋáb*, which means that they stop before the ladder of the house and forbid the bride to enter until the boy's parents have given them a present, which usually consists of a *xúsi* jar or of a few beads. After that the bride is

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585 allowed to mount the ladder, either by herself or on the back of the *mañlakkát*.

Once inside she has to go immediately toward the place where a *balandán* blanket, the property of the boy's parents, has been spread on the floor, and to sit down upon it. The *balandán* consists of three rectangular pieces of cloth, sewn together at the sides, not at the edges; the two sutures are provided with large ornamental stitches of purple thread. The bride, however, is not to stay there very long, as she has barely squatted down on the *balandán* when her mother pulls it away from under her, and takes possession of the same. Here also the *mañlakkát* dons her customary attire, — jacket, headband and the rest, — as her rôle is finished by this time.

585 574 264 The parents of the boy usually prepare a banquet for all present; chickens or pigs and dogs are slaughtered, according to the social standing of the owners of the house, but, as previously noted, no shaman performs the *maxanito*. Should the *bálat* be killed on this occasion, which is not absolutely necessary, as the boy's parents may prefer to keep it alive, neither bride nor groom, nor any of the girl's relatives, is allowed to partake of it. If any of them should infringe this taboo and eat the meat of the *bálat* pig, his or her children, whether born already or to be born in the future, would die a certain death. The same prohibition obtains with reference to the cakes. It is certainly a great sacrifice for an Isneg not to partake of a meal of pork and rice, and only the fear of some dire punishment such as that of death for his children could effectively check his appetite in that direction. But in nearly all cases the boy's parents slaughter some other animal, which all present are allowed to partake. It goes without saying that a copious flow of *básІ* keeps the whole company in merriment, otherwise you could not very well call it a marriage feast.

585 583 431 The principal ceremony, however, consists in the distribution of gifts, of which there are two classes:

1. The *ákit* (from which the whole marriage ceremony takes its name, *mañakit:* to perform a marriage ceremony): these are gifts of beads, clothes, etc., offered by the boy's relatives and outsiders to the women of the girl's party in exchange for a certain amount of cakes, or some part of the *bálat*, in case the latter is slaughtered.

2. The *tugnúl:* gifts of spears, headaxes, *zúsi* jars, etc., also offered by the boy's relatives and outsiders, but this time to the men of the girl's party, again in exchange for cakes or portions of the *bálat*.

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Accurate notice is always taken of all the items given, their nature and their value, and also of the person who gives each object. On a similar occasion in the future, the donor will be repaid according to his own generosity or closefistedness. An Isneg is a very practical man: a gift as such is barely known to him; "it is better to give than to receive", is not understood by him at all. To an Isneg "to give" always includes the notion of "with the hope of getting back something at least equal in value".

Those of the guests who proffer neither *ákit* nor *tugnúl* are not allowed to partake either of the sweets or of the *bálat* (which is said to be sold); but they can eat any other food that is prepared for this occasion.

And then comes the presentation of the *tádug* or price agreed upon at the *amómân*. The *tádug*, which is paid by the boy's parents and becomes the exclusive property of the girl's parents, may be given entirely at this juncture, but it very often happens that only a partial payment is made at this time, and that the rest is paid later, either all at once or in instalments. The latter course very often gives rise to vehement quarrels, as the groom's parents are bent on protracting the payment as long as possible, while those of the bride are anxious to settle the matter without delay.

And all the time bride and groom remain almost completely excluded from all participation in these ceremonies. They do not receive even the smallest present on this occasion, and as far as *ákit*, *tugnúl* and *tádug* are concerned, they are mere lookers-on.

All this goes to show that a girl in the family is a precious asset to the Isneg. Besides the *tádug*, the exclusive property of her parents, there are all the objects that go to her relatives at the time of the *ákit;* and all this in exchange for a pig, the *bálat*, and a certain amount of cakes. All that the relatives of the boy get out of it is partaking of a feast a couple of times, at the *amómân* and at the *ákit*, and eating a few cakes, which after all are not so very highly esteemed. But they will have their revenge in time, of course, as they also have marriageable girls among their relatives. And so, everything considered, nobody is the loser, and certainly not the young couple: although they have received no gifts, their share of the inheritance is handed to them at this time by their respective parents, and then they have one another. Happiness, I dare believe, is very real on both sides, except perhaps in a few instances where one of them or both married merely to comply with the wishes of their elders. But

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then there is always a way open to them, and divorce is not so very uncommon among the Isneg as to be considered an extraordinary event.

Bride and groom having already had coitus more than once, there is no question of course of ceremonial defloration, jus primae noctis, looking for proofs of virginity, and so on. The morning after the *ákit*, the *tádug* is brought over to the house of the girl's parents, and triumphantly escorted by a large group of people. Here a chicken is killed in order to celebrate the happy event, and all present are allowed to partake of it, but some of the blood must be smeared on the objects that make up the *tádug*. This is called *banít*: the girl's parents are those who *mamanít*, they *banítan* the *tádug*.

One or two days later a certain quantity of sweets is again prepared at the house of the bride's parents, for the ceremony called *lablabág*: but the *pinatará-* variety of cakes is taboo on this occasion. The reason is that it would cause the future offspring of the newly wed to get sore ears (a kind of otitis with concomitant suppuration).

On the third day, three nights (the Isneg always count by nights, not by days) after the *ákit*, the young couple *maglablabág*: they first go to observe the flight of the *labág* bird. If the omen is bad, nothing will be done and a more favorable occasion will be awaited, because to go ahead under the circumstances would entail the early death of one of the interested parties. The whole *lablabág* ceremony, however, is almost always performed on that day anyhow, as there is more than one hour in a day and more than one *labág* bird in Apayaw. After having obtained a good augury, if the house of the boy's parents is near, the young couple direct their steps toward it in the afternoon; otherwise they start in the morning. The members of their escort carry all eatables prepared for this occasion, and these are then distributed to the people at the house of the groom. These eatables,—sweets, meat, etc.,—are called *talinabáw*, but the cakes are far from being as abundant as at the time of the *ákit*. The whole ceremony, beginning with the observance of the flight of the *labág* and ending with the distribution of the *talinabáw* at the house of the boy's parents, is called *lablabág*.

The next day, four nights after the *ákit*, the husband goes to live (*maggiyán*) with his young wife at the latter's house, and stays there as long as has been determined at the *amómán*, after which he takes his wife home to his parents' house, where the woman stays (*maggiyán*) from now on. In case the groom does not stay at the house

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of the girl's parents, or if he is a married man, both husband and wife remain where they are after the *lablabág* ceremony, namely in the house of the husband or in that of his parents.

C. FAMILY LIFE

It is not rare to find two or more Isneg families living in one and the same house, as these are usually very roomy. And so it may take a long time before any of the married sons attempt to live elsewhere. This is also a boon to the old people, of course, as in this way they always find a home for their old age with one of their married children.

From now on the young wife will have little time for pleasure, and, although it would be wrong to call her a slave, in our eyes at least she will be leading the life of a drudge. She will be the first to begin work and the last to finish it. Every day she will have to prepare the meals and to clean the dishes; most of her mornings, if not her entire days, will be passed in the field; and when coming back home in the afternoon, she will have to comply with her usual household duties: pound the rice or grind the corn, and feed the hogs. Most of the time she will have to nurse a baby while attending to her other work, not that the little ones come in such quick succession, as usually at least a year and a half elapses between the birth of two children, and very often one or more of them die in infancy, but because the time of nursing is not confined to the first year of her babe: even children two and three years old may be found occasionally partaking of their mother's milk and using it as a supplementary food.

The husband on the contrary will find his married life to be very little different from what he had been used to before. His life may perhaps even appear lighter to him now than it was before he contracted marriage, as he will be mostly his own master, and he will not pass so many sleepless nights as when, as a young man, he was assiduously courting the girls, a custom that plays havoc with the health of a good many Isneg boys.

1. Domestic Relationships

The Isneg husband is the head of the family, and ultimate decisions are always taken by him; nevertheless the woman is no unimportant entity in the government of the house. An Isneg man rarely transacts any important business without the consent of the women folk, and he is usually humble and obedient at the smallest hint of his

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586 When *Rukkadéń* ran homewards in order to fetch his gun, *Kadáw*
684 again had followed him hoping to give him the coup de grâce, but
628 when the latter had got hold of his gun. *Kadáw* had fled a second
703 time and hid in the municipal building. *Rukkadéń* had shown at
578 least that he was not a coward: although wounded to death he had faced his adversary and tried to kill him; he died a couple of hours later. The whole Isneg outfit of policemen and soldiers had not made a very brave stand either, as the last scene of the drama was enacted in the public square, and none of them dared approach old *Kadáw*, who had entrenched himself in the building just referred to and refused to lay down his headax reeking with blood. He finally surrendered at the summons of the lieutenant of the constabulary who threatened him with his revolver.

192 In concluding this account of marriage, the following Isneg ex-
585 pressions may be recorded:

Mańćn: Menses.

837 *Maxatáwa:* To marry. Said of both men and women.

Mańatáwa: To marry. Said only of men.

104 *Makiatáwa:* To marry. Said only of women.

Meatáwa: To be married. Said only of women.

Mańaduwá: To live in bigamy. From the stem *duwá*, "two", and the complex prefix *mańa*, syncopated for *mań* and *ka*.

Mańa-ló: To have three wives. From the syncopated stem *talló*, "three", and the complex prefix *mańa*.

Dumaládag: To commit adultery, to be in love with another man. Said of married women.

Mánaládag: To commit adultery with a married woman. Said of men, whether married or single.

192 *Sumibuá:* To separate, to go and live in another house. This does
586 not always and necessarily mean divorce; it may also mean that somebody stops living with a certain family in order to go and live
104 somewhere else; for instance, a young married couple who have built themselves a new house, or who go to live in a house different from the one they have previously lived in, provided the latter was inhabited at the same time by another family, who continue to live there after their former companions went away.

They have a feast: rice
basi, and the greater part of a pig or dog are served. 584
Then business begins. The parents and relatives of 583
the youth, arrange the amount of the dowry, *todog*. [574
If it is of less value, the youth must stay in the house 262]
of the girl. When the contract is agreed upon, it is strictly adhered to; and the youth and girl are said to be married.

The real ceremony, *aqueb*, then follows. The pa- 585 ●
rents of the girl bring pigs and baskets of rice-cakes to the house of the youth. The girl comes in company with several old women. They all stop about one hundred yards from the house of the youth. There they are met by the parents or mother of the youth, bearing valuable gifts for the parents of the girl. The youth's mother then requests the girl from her parents. Upon approval, the whole company moves to the house, where the mother presents her gifts to the parents of the girl. The rice cakes are sold to the re- [435]
latives of the youth, the nominal price being P1.00 per basket. Then the merry-making starts and con- [784]
tinues through the night. The youth and girl must not eat the sweets, as one of them would die. In the morning final payments of the dowry are made and distributed. Then the young couple are considered to be properly married, but still controlled by their parents.

When the young woman feels that she is about to 844
give birth, either the husband or the mother-in-law will twist a piece of cloth, light one end, and place it, [442]
the *pungan*, at the door. With it is the coconut shredder, *igad*. These guard the woman while delivering so that no *anito* can come into the house to annoy the